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ABSTRACT

In recent times, the win-win outcomes of circular migration for all the involved stakeholders have come under a thorough academic focus and have increased in social-political importance for both the host and home countries, not to mention the migrants themselves. Given the inherent importance of the issue for countries' public policies, it comes as no surprise that attention is often paid to the intrinsic pros and cons for both host and home societies. What might ponder, however, is the fact that the main actors of this process, the circular migrants, gain rather limited attention or scrutiny. The main aim of this article is therefore to unveil what actually happens with circular immigrants in the host countries, and which pattern – integration or marginalization – shapes their destiny in the host society. This question will be investigated through a case study of Ukrainian immigrants in Spain. The outcomes of this applied research into the sociology of the circular migration demonstrate that both concepts are not mutually exclusive, and do not fundamentally preclude integration.

Key words

circular migration, integration, marginalization

The topic of the integration of immigrants into the host society is not new in the history of mankind. The old proverb “When in Rome, do as the Romans do” only confirms it. However, in recent times, the countries of the European Union (EU) have paid much attention to the problem of the co-existence of native people with immigrants. For instance, German Chancellor Angela Merkel called this problem the “vital task for the future”. In September 2010, she stressed that it was an illusion to think that Germans and foreign workers could live happily side by side (Smee 2010). Merkel insisted on the importance of German language fluency, respect for the cultural norms of German society and following the German lifestyle as all being necessary conditions for a normal life for immigrants in Germany. The second (here, exemplary) politician to talk about the dysfunctional concept of multiculturalism was the UK Prime Minister David Cameron, who also made a very strong declaration about the failure of multiculturalism as a mode of integration in Great Britain (Porter 2011). But in comparison to Merkel, Cameron put the emphasis on another issue that was connected with the functioning of the welfare state, and the burden that immigrants meant for public funds and public services, and, of course, the influence of immigrants on the employment/unemployment level in Britain (Porter 2011). At the same time, these political leaders recognize that the economic development of their countries really depends on immigrants. Moreover, the demographic situation also puts pressure on the welfare system distribution in EU countries, which then motivates governments to think thoroughly about decision-making and the policy concerning the lives of immigrants in their countries.

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In reality, immigrants bring with themselves not only the ability to do work, but also customs, traditions, religion and lifestyles that, sometimes, did not correspond to the norms of the host society. Another issue pertaining to the life of immigrants in a host society is the demand for recognition of one's own culture and traditions, respect for one's identity and lifestyle. In contemporary nation states, native populations are concerned with the dilemma of "national purity", and this is not only the problem of those who believe that immigrants, with their traditions, make the host nation weaker and lead to the "erosion" of nation. Lack of cohesion is likely to generate "us" and "them" groups, and in this way divides society. What is more, it wields influence not only on the social, but also on the political life of the host country (Zanfrini 2007). This process is often instrumentalised by some political forces that attempt to get some additional support while highlighting the problem of societal cohesion and division. Furthermore, we frequently hear from native-born people that immigrants take their jobs, although this very often does not correspond to reality as, due to the segmentation of the labour market, the majority of immigrants work in occupations that the natives would never undertake (Angulo Bárcena 2006). At the same time, a lot of immigrants try to use all benefits that the host society provides to them, such as public services or medical assistance; in this sense, immigrants could be considered an "additional burden" to the public budget. All these dilemmas illustrate the crisis of relations being experienced between the host society and the immigrants.

The roots of the current problems touching the life of immigrants in the host societies should be examined through a historical perspective. The reconstruction of post-war Europe prompted developed Western countries such as the United Kingdom, France, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Belgium and Germany to invite guest workers in order to fill their labour shortage. Recruitment of guest workers was built on the principles of temporary immigration for a limited period, with restricted rights, and minimal family reunification opportunities for immigrants. As Castles emphasizes, in this way Western European countries were trying to "import labour, but not people" (Castles 2006: 742). However, the oil crisis and economic stagnation made these countries stop inviting guest workers. Moreover, it was expected that guest workers would return to their home countries, but it rarely happened. If guest workers from EC countries (such as Spain, Italy, Greece) started their "return projects" for coming back home, those migrants that originated from non-EC (i.e. third) countries, such as Turkey and ex-Yugoslavia, failed to launch their "return projects". The decision was evidently made because of the great uncertainty that migrants would have been faced with, had they returned home. As a result, surviving this oil crisis in the host country has been both an optimal and thus widely used option. In the wake of implementing such a decision, a lot of migrants began undertaking both legal and illegal processes of family reunification, and thus settled with their families in the host countries. So, these temporary migrant workers turned into permanent immigrants (Castles 2006).

According to Castles (2006), since the guest-worker system was based on the principles of the inferiority and separation of the foreigners, immigrants tended not to be treated as equals to the native people. They were seen as disadvantaged and racially discriminated minorities in the host society. As a result, immigrants showed the tendency to settle separately from the host people, in specific neighbourhoods with inferior infrastructure and housing. Therefore, it became possible to observe an increase and development of different ethnic, cultural and religious organizations. In this way, the policy of guest workers led to the social division of European societies. Moreover, Castles considers Europeans to be conscious of the processes that touch ethnic minorities, such as social exclusion, high unemployment and segmentation of the labour market, and also residential segregation. This state of affairs has persuaded Europeans to reject and avoid guest-worker programs or temporary migration schemes, due to its unpredictable social consequences (Castles 2006:743–744).

CIRCULAR MIGRATION AS A NEW MODEL OF MIGRATION?

Nevertheless, nowadays, it is possible to observe discussion in both the political and academic fields concerning the circular migration pattern that actually reminds us very much of the temporary working programs. Besides circular migration, this type of mobility can be also seen as repeat, shuttling, rotating, multiple, cyclical, oscillating, and incomplete migration (Wallace–Stola 2001). Repeat migration is not a new form of mobility; this topic was at the centre of research discussions starting from the 1960s. As a rule, it touched some African, Asian and Pacific societies where rural workers were gravitating to the urban areas, mines, etc. in the search of a means of subsistence (Bedford, 2009: 6). And nowadays, it is possible to observe this type of mobility in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. Constant, Nottmeyer, and Zimmermann (2012: 6) consider that circular migration in this region has been generated by the EU enlargement that opened new borders not only for goods, but also for the free movement of people and labour forces. While Bedford (2009: 8) stresses that opportunities caused by enlargement have not motivated an extensive replacement of the population, but circular migration has been “extended, modified, amplified and, in large measure, accommodated”.

Although there are a lot of definitions of this type of mobility, among the earliest is definition made by Zelinsky (1971: 226); according to him, circulation comprises “a great variety of movements, usually short-term, repetitive or cyclic in nature, but all having in common the lack of any declared intention of a permanent or long-lasting change in residence”. And recent definitions, as a rule, put an emphasis on the labour content of this type of mobility, for example, Constant, Nottmeyer and Zimmermann (2012: 4) describe repeat migration as “systematic and regular movement of migrants between their homelands and foreign countries typically seeking work”. Among the main peculiarities of this kind of migration is the dependence of migrants on a social network that consists of family members, friends or private intermediaries who already have this experience and can assist in the establishment in a new country. The engagement of migrants in various facets of life in both host and home societies has shaped a new mode of living that quite often can be found in the literature under ‘transnationalism’ or ‘transnational migration’. The first definition of this concept derives from the work of Basch, Glick Schiller, and Szanton Blanc, who define it as “the process by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement. We can term these processes ‘transnationalism’ to emphasize that many immigrants today build social fields that cross geographic, cultural, and political borders (Basch et al. 1994: 7).

It must be stressed that a circular migration pattern is a form of mobility that involves not only seasonal or non-seasonal workers, but also professionals in different fields, transnational entrepreneurs, and others. However, the most important thing here is to differentiate spontaneous or unregulated circulation from managed (that is, regulated) circulation programs (Wickramasekara 2011). In turn, Skeldon (2012) emphasized that political effort to convert circular mobility into circular migration programs will transform repeat labour mobility into temporary migration programs that were used by some European countries in the post-war period. The same opinion can be found also in Castles (2006), who pointed out that circular migration programs would lead to the resurrection of the guest-worker temporary programs.

As guest-worker programs have already been given a lot of attention in academic and political circles, special attention should be paid to the unregulated forms of circular migration, as they are not regulated by states and have gained a little official awareness due to its establishment by unofficial migrants' networks. In addition, nowadays, the interest in this kind of mobility is caused by the discussion on win-win outcomes for all participants of this labour migration pattern: for instance, the host country gets workers and avoids integration costs; the home country receives remittances, lower levels of unemployment and a transfer of best economic or social practices from developed countries, while migrants by themselves have to be satisfied of accumulated financial means, temporal occupation and circular presence in their families life (Agunias–Newland 2007). However, this opinion is not supported by everybody. Wickramasekara (2011), for instance, demonstrates that there are a lot of weak points for every participant of the migration process. This is because temporary migrants, usually, join the secondary sectors of the host country labour market; they suffer from discrimination and exploitation, xenophobic attitudes, deskilling, and marginalization that is the result of a lack of employment protection and also a lack of integration opportunities. Furthermore, repeat migrants very often do not complete all rules connected with the legalization of their employment in the host country, as their employers try to avoid additional costs, and this situation puts migrants in a more precarious situation in the host country (Kaczmarczyk 2002: 35; Calavita 1998).

Therefore, for Kaczmarczyk (2002: 32–33) circular migrants have almost no possibility to absorb and transfer the best social and economic practices of developed countries. And declarations that temporary migrants become actors of change look very illusive. Firstly, one of the pieces of evidence of this is an intention of migrants to forget about their experience abroad. Returning to the home country is treated as a return to normality (Kaczmarczyk 2002). Secondly, Wickramasekara (2011) considers that very often, skills that were acquired abroad may not be relevant for the home country labour market conditions, for instance, migrants with technical or expert backgrounds can be found in situations where their skills and knowledge cannot be used appropriately because of an inappropriate infrastructure and institutional framework in the country of origin. However, Constant, Nottmeyer, and Zimmermann (2012: 10) suppose that repeat migrants are willing to accept low-skilled and low-paid jobs in the host country, as this occupation is believed to be temporary, and it is expected to be remunerated better than their occupation in the home country. So, in this way, migrants can achieve their goal: accumulating a larger amount of savings in a short time.

As has been mentioned before, the earliest research on circular migration stressed that circulation is a form of mobility that does not aim to change permanent residence or settlement – in other words, the movements of circular migration start and end in the same society and have a repetitive or cyclic character (Zelinsky 1971; Chapman–Mansell Prothero 1983–1984; Skeldon 2010). Home is the key to understanding the circular migration phenomenon: it is the place that is left, but it is also the place where one is expected to return (Kaczmarczyk 2002: 9). One of the features that distinguish temporary or circular migration is also a possibility of immigrants to participate in the productive and demographic activities of their families and society. Therefore, the territory division of different family and economical responsibilities and activities is so important for migrants (Chapman & Mansell Prothero 1983–1984: 598; Kaczmarczyk 2002: 9). At the same time, Bedford (2009: 7) considers circular mobility to be a system that lasts because the destination place becomes the socio-spatial extensions of the home. Therefore, origin and destination places are not separate entities, but are “nodes in evolving and ever-changing clusters of places that have relevance for human livelihoods.” Vertovec (2009: 88), for instance, supposes that in this context the country of origin serves as the source of identity, while the country of residence becomes the source of rights.

Some researchers believe that circulation is not an occasional event resulting from temporary imbalances in labour markets and a favourable relation between wages and prices, but it may be sustainable model of behaviour that, actually, is rooted in many cultures and societies (Chapman–Mansell Prothero 1983–1984). On the one hand, circular migration is motivated by migrants' desire to save their "status quo" that means a certain lifestyle in their home country (Constant Nottmeyer–Zimmermann 2012: 13). On the other hand, circulation is a way to poverty reduction (Skeldon 2010). With the example of the Poles in Germany, Kaczmarczyk (2002) shows that circular mobility is rather a part of the life strategy and a permanent component of economic activity. In spite of their years spent in Germany, temporary Polish workers strongly believe that their future and the future of their children lies in Poland. This situation makes them live on the cusp of both countries, and it also becomes one more feature of the temporary migrant (Kaczmarczyk 2002: 40).

At the same time, this life on the border of the home and host societies prevents repeat migrants from the problems connected with settling in the new country. Being oriented towards the home country, repeat migrants do not need to solve the difficult and painful dilemmas of adaptation to the host society and their assimilation or integration in it. Additionally, among the positive aspects of the temporary mobility is the ability to save and maintain an original identity, while also participating in the host society. However, Kaczmarczyk (2002) considers that in this case, it would be very constructive to use the concept of "marginal man" developed by Park (1928). This concept is applied to a person of many cultures who does not, however, participate fully in any of them and cannot find his/her proper place. Being under the influence of a dynamic and changing contemporaneity, migrants are in "danger of losing their identity" and, as a result, are face the threat of marginalization. Moreover, attention should be paid to the fact that immigrants' long-term significant earnings are accompanied by persistent marginalization. Being ripped out of their native society, they have the possibility to belong to different cultures, albeit without the possibility of identification with any of them. Often, this process finishes with the rejection of both cultures (Park, 1928).

METHODOLOGY OF THE RESEARCH

The main aim of this article is to study what actually happens with circular immigrants in the host countries: integration or marginalization becomes the destiny for circular migrants in the host society. This study is based on empirical data taken from my PhD thesis, *Integration of Ukrainian Immigrants into the Spanish Society: A Case Study of the Basque Country* (Gorodetska 2012). As Ukrainians in Spain are representatives of unmanaged/spontaneous circular migration, it was decided to choose qualitative methods of research in order to unveil all peculiarities of this type of mobility. Empirical material has been gathered through the conducting of in-depth interviews with Ukrainian immigrants in the Basque Provinces, as this is one of the best ways to build open conversation with migrants. Using the "snowball or chain sampling" principle, respondents were sought out in places where they congregate, such as "Russian shops" (selling items from countries of the former Soviet Union), the Ukrainian church, or sites where clusters of migrants meet to dispatch parcels to Ukraine. For the in-depth interviews with respondents, a questionnaire on the basis of the Heckmann integration model has been developed (cf. the Interview Questionnaire in Appendix 1). The field work of the research was conducted during the period of June 16–September 22, 2010. Research material includes 41 in-depth interviews with Ukrainian immigrants of active working age: 20–64 years old. As the migration of Ukrainians in Spain is slightly feminized, it has been decided to save the same gender share in the research: 54% (22 respondents) of women to 46% (19 respondents) of men.

As there is no widely consensual or standard definition of circular migration, it makes it difficult to define its patterns in temporal terms (i.e. via the length of stay in the destination country). Nevertheless, Wickramasekara (2011: 10) draws on the typology developed by Pastore (2008) as one of the more promising attempts to classify mobility types through the length of stay in the receiving country.

Table 1: Length of stay and type of mobility

Length of stay	Type of mobility
Under three months	Short-term mobility
Under 6–9 months	Seasonal migration (circular migration)
Under five years	Temporary migration (circular migration)
Over five years	Long-term migration

Source: Pastore, 2008

Hence, for Pastore (2008), circular migration can cover a period up to five years. Yet, this time is necessary for receiving the status of long-term resident in some EU countries. This model will be applied thus for the case study of Ukrainians in the Basque Country, and the frequency of trips of research participants to their home country will serve as an indicator of mobility type. According to the research results, it is thus possible to distinguish between four groups of respondents that demonstrate similar patterns of mobility. The first group consists of those interviewees who still have not visited their home country; however, they demonstrate a strong commitment to do so. As a rule, this type of behaviour was explained by a lack of a permanent resident status, and thus by a fear to lose the option of returning to the host country. Furthermore, these respondents can be called recent migrants, as their stay in Spain has not lasted for more than three years. This group consists of a quarter of all respondents. The second group comprises the migrants that visit Ukraine at least once a year, and this group was formed almost by a half of the interviewees. Free movement of these interviewees is afforded by the possession of residency status in Spain, which is the result of the long-term migration experience that, of course, provided these migrants with resident positions. Those that can still be identified as circular migrants, but rarely visit Ukraine (that is, once every 2–4 years),² formed approximately one fifth of the research participants. Eventually, the last group represents those Ukrainians who, in fact, have moved from category of circular migrants to that of permanent migrants.

Following a review of the literature on the study of immigrant integration, it was decided to take the following definition from Penninx of the concept of integration as “the process of becoming an accepted part of society” (2005:141). This definition focuses on two important features of the integration phenomenon. First of all, it stresses the process itself and it does not bring into focus the outcome of the process. Secondly, such a definition does not emphasize any particular requirements for acceptance raised towards newcomers by the established receiving society. This definition leaves open different intermediate and final outcomes or results (Penninx, 2005). Although there are a lot of different classifications of the integration process, the model of Heckmann (2005) has been chosen as it identifies the integration elements in a very deep way. Heckmann identifies the next four dimensions of the integration process: Structural Dimension, Cognitive-Cultural Dimension, Social Dimension and the Identificational Dimension. Within the **Structural Dimension**, process of the obtaining rights and an access to the

² According to Spanish law, illegal migrants need at least three years to get their residence status through a legalization procedure.

membership was studied, position and status in the core institutions of the host society (including citizenship or residence status, educational systems, training structures, the labour market, and housing). Through the **Cultural Dimension** framework, the process of the cognitive, cultural, behavioural and attitudinal changes of people is described. This dimension has an interactive character, as integration is a mutual process that changes not only the immigrants, but the receiving society as well. Variables of this dimension are, inter alia, knowledge of the language and culture of the receiving society, roles of the family, influence of gender, religious beliefs and lifestyle, and also which behaviour is acceptable or unacceptable in the host society. The **Social Dimension** is connected with the membership of immigrants in different organizations, clubs, associations, and communities in the host country. And the **Identificational Dimension** illustrates the sense of belonging and identification with a certain ethnic or national community.

Shifting the topic to the identification of the marginalization concept, first of all, attention should be paid to the concept of the "Marginal Man" developed by Park (1928: 892); for Park, the marginal man was a person "on the margin of two cultures and two societies, which never completely interpenetrated and fused". These people, as a rule, will never break up with their past and their traditions as they are not quite accepted in the new host society. Developing this theory, Antonovsky (1956: 57) determined marginality through the confrontation between the host population and migrants. Although two cultures can stay in lasting contact, their cultural patterns cannot easily be harmonized. However, the boundaries between both groups are sufficiently permeable for the members of the marginal culture; therefore, it can internalize the patterns of the dominant culture, as well as those of their own. Furthermore, these relations are relations of power, as one of the groups is dominant in terms of power and reward potential. For instance, having acquired the goals of the non-marginal culture, members of the marginal group are pulled by the promise of the greater rewards offered. But on this road, they meet barriers as, on the one hand, they can be discriminated against by the host people, while, on the other hand, they may feel pressure of "betraying" the home culture. To continue the topic of power, it is important to move from the area of culture to the framework, or structure of society. For example, Powell (2013: 3) defines structural marginality as a "shift in focus from people and individuals to structures and institutions [...] When structures unevenly distribute opportunities or depress life chances along the axis of race, it can be described as structural racialization." All these definitions and concept are called to assist in the defining of the processes that influence the life of the circular migrants.

RESEARCH OUTCOMES: INTEGRATION VS. MARGINALIZATION?

The history of modern migration flows of Ukrainians starts with the fall of the Soviet Union, and the collapse of the economic system that depended on the centralized structure of the Soviet economy. The first migration experience of Ukrainians was observed in the beginning of 1990s, and was characterized by the existence of petty trade and shuttle traders. After buying modest quantities of certain products in countries like Poland, Hungary, Turkey, and China, Ukrainians returned to their homeland and sold these articles, which became one of the ways to survive during the crisis of the 1990s. Labour migration became a mass trend in the late 1990s. The main countries of destination for Ukrainians were Russia (48.1% of total Ukrainian migrants), Italy (13.4%), the Czech Republic (11.9%), Poland (8%), Hungary (3.2%), Spain (2.7%), Portugal (2.6%), and other countries (Geyets 2009: 218). Moreover, it is important to mention that migration flows of Ukrainians are based on the principles of "chain migration", and the case of Spain is not an exception. Taking into account the history and circular nature of migration of Ukrainians, it is still early to talk about a Ukrainian diaspora, especially in the countries of South Europe where the

majority of migrants represents the first generation. Although administrative data and different counts do not provide reliable information as to the labour migration of Ukrainians on short-term migration work trips to neighbouring countries, the World Bank estimated the number of Ukrainian labour migrants to be 5.1 million in 2013. Moreover, Ukraine was recognized as the largest recipient of remittances in the “Europe and Central Asia” region; for 2013, the number was \$ 9.3 billion, representing 4.8% of Ukraine’s GDP (World Bank, 2013).

Starting an analysis from the **Structural Dimension**, special attention should be paid to the topic of regular status and labour-market position, as these two components define the position and the place of migrants in the host society. Calavita (1998) considers that the regularization and legalization of migrants’ official status in Spain has led a lot of them to marginalization. The law and procedure of obtaining a regular status formed by legal bodies takes a lot of time, and makes migrants drop out of regular lawful/permanent residency. Waiting for a regular status and living under illegal conditions, migrants cannot get any official employment. It leads them to the informal sector of the economy that, in a long-term perspective can limit their open participation in the host society. For instance, although the majority of research participants have a regular status and can participate openly in the everyday life of the host society without any fear of being deported, most of the respondents passed through the irregularity in the new country. Almost all respondents were waiting for the legalization of their status in Spain, at least, for three years. Of course, all this time Ukrainians were involved in the underground economy as the situation of irregularity encouraged them to look for a job in the sectors available for irregular migrants, that is in the grey economy.

I think that if I had possessed legal documents at the time, I might have found something better. I had friends with documents who worked as waitresses in restaurants and bars, and earned twice as much. When I finally began work in a bar for 250 euros, I also handled the desk, served customers, relieved the cook, and cleaned tables. Still, the salary was only half of what I could have earned if I had papers, but I was happy because, as you know, unregistered workers are forced to accept any job offer. (woman, 38 years old, 10 years in Spain, pedagogue)

Furthermore, results of the research show that almost all respondents choose Spain and in particular the Basque Country because of the presence of friends and relatives there. According to the segmented assimilation of Portes (2001), the successful inclusion of immigrants into the host society depends on the social strata they join on their arrival in the new society. So, Ukrainians joined or entered the social stratum that was opened for them by other Ukrainian migrants or mediators of their circular project. And this stratum is the lowest labour-market level, or the lowest rung of the working class. Here, it is important to mention that the majority of interviewees are very well-educated people with professional backgrounds: for instance, a third of respondents are university graduates and only 10% of research participants have no special vocational training. In the home country, most of the respondents belong to the middle or professional classes. However, in the host country, Ukrainians joined a low level of the social structure, taking low-paid occupations in sectors of the informal economy. For this step, as a rule, respondents were forced, first of all, by the difficult economic and financial conditions of their families in Ukraine. As an example, it can be mentioned that although interviewees were occupying qualified and, sometimes, prestigious positions in Ukraine, their work, very often, was depreciated by low salaries, forced vacations or non-payments. Therefore, migration projects, usually, were seen as a way of avoiding poverty. This situation made a lot of interviewees close their eyes as to the type of jobs in the host country, as these occupations were, at least, remunerated. Research results show that a significant

majority of respondents do not work in the field that corresponds to their training and education. Among men, some found work according to their skills (mechanics, drivers, electricians, in IT, etc.); among women (economists, pedagogues, medical workers, etc.) this phenomenon is absent as almost all women work in the domestic cleaning sector. Being involved in the chain migration structure, Ukrainians went to pre-arranged places and entered an entry-ready system that was created by other immigrants. In this way, respondents could avoid a lot of difficulties connected with the lack of Spanish-language fluency, job-seeking and accommodation, etc. and minimize some risks connected with migration project. Therefore, it can be observed that the introduction of immigrants into the labour market was created by the network of Ukrainians and maintained by the local population.

Although the majority of respondents are not satisfied with their employment situation or occupation in Spain, Ukrainians, actually, are not quick to change this. With the example of the “U-shaped” model of professional attainment of immigrants in the host country, Chiswick, Lee and Miller (2005) explain immigrants’ initial downward mobility as a natural process due to the lack of the host language, social networks, and the specific knowledge/skills that are important for the host labour market. Nevertheless, the situation of immigrants can be improved by making investments into the host society: studying the host language, gaining a diploma in the host country, or getting new education or training in a field that is in the demand in the host country. But, obtaining new skills or training is a long-term process, whereas circular migrants are temporary citizens. They believe that their stay in the host country is short-term. The aim to return is one more reason for explaining this state of affairs, as the concept of “home” occupies a central place in the lives of migrants and is very often idealized. Bagnoli (2004) emphasizes that the dream of returning to the home country is always a vivid one for immigrants. This dream encourages Ukrainians to make their investments in Ukraine and prepare for their return. It makes them believe that their stay in Spain is temporary; therefore, it is not worth making heavy investments in the host country. Moreover, their stay and work in Spain are dedicated not to making their life better in Spain, but to make their life better in the home country of Ukraine. However, a negative side to this situation also exists, as this state of affairs produces de-skilling, low self-esteem among immigrants, and frustration. But on the other hand, participants were satisfied with their experience, and stressed that their migration project has brought at least some prosperity.

Indicators of the **Cognitive-Cultural** aspects of the integration of Ukrainian immigrants into Basque society demonstrate that the respondents do pay attention to the main factors of the host society. One of the most important indicators showing the integration of Ukrainians into the host society is knowledge of the host language (by host language I mean Spanish, as local language is Euskera). Ukrainians that participated in the research considered themselves to have an intermediate level of the Spanish language. Moreover, immigrants emphasised that command of the host language enabled successful communication with authorities and public assistance inquiries, contact maintenance with Spaniards, and even the establishment of new friendships.

Moreover, it is important to stress the cultural differences between Spanish and Ukrainian societies that are really significant. Respondents described a lot of examples of the “way things are done” in Spanish society, starting from liberal or free lifestyles to the details of work negligence or colourful fiestas. Actually, this scrupulous attention to social rules of behaviour is evidence that Spanish and Ukrainian cultures are truly different but, of course, this does not make the integration process any easier. It means that, very often, immigrants have to go through re-socialization processes in order to study the patterns of

behaviour that are acceptable and permitted in the Basque society. Some respondents compared the start of their life in Spain as a new beginning in life. Nevertheless, a third of the interviewees mentioned that they followed Spanish and Basque lifestyles, while almost a half of Ukrainians termed their lifestyle as “my own/personal” that, in reality, includes the features of both Ukrainian and Spanish societies. So, the majority of Ukrainians continue with certain customs and traditions from their home country, especially in the field of private or home affairs, but at the same time they recognize that also try to implement the best practices of the Spanish experience of life, for example, in the area of public life and social relations. Knowledge of these and other rules demonstrates that migrants do not close themselves in their own community, but stay in close contact with the host population. These results encourage people to make a conclusion about the positive indicators of the integration process.

Summarizing the results of the **Social Dimension**, it could be noted that Ukrainians do not participate in any organization, club, or association. The majority of respondents reported that they visit a Ukrainian church which they consider to be a local community. At the same time, it could be observed that Ukrainians keep close relations not only with compatriots, but also with local people. It might appear strange, but the majority of respondents do not seek out relations with migrants from other Socialist Bloc countries which could be said to be united with Ukraine by geographical proximity or cultural similarity. At the same time, research participants have in the network of their friends Spaniards and Basques. And one of the reasons of this state of affairs is not only in order to benefit from these relations, but because of the positive attitude of the autochthonal population that, in reality, reduces the costs of interaction. The level of acceptance of natives by the Ukrainians themselves has been established via the following point on the questionnaire: respondents were asked if they would accept a Spaniard/Basque into their family as a family member. It has to be reported that there were only two respondents from 41 who answered negatively, which, in fact, shows the degree of tolerance that Ukrainians manifest towards the local population. Nevertheless, it must be recognized that due to the economic crisis, the attitude of Basque people towards foreigners is changing, and Ukrainians observe this change as moving from the positive towards normal or negative attitudes. Respondents notify that this change is not a surprise, as a lot of local people have lost their jobs, and believe that foreigners occupy their possible job positions.

The last dimension that, as a litmus paper, illustrates the full picture concerning the integration of Ukrainian immigrants is the **Identificational dimension**. Through this dimension was identified subjective belonging of immigrants to some ethnic or national community. So, less than a half of respondents emphasized that they felt part of Ukrainian society, while the majority of research participants noted changes in their identification. At the same time, there are also a few interviewees who felt themselves part of the Basque society, while the majority of Ukrainians described their identification as belonging to both, or neither of the societies.

Nowadays, I feel some duality: I like the way of life in this country although there is really nothing significant to bind me to this place. At the same time, life is impossible in the homeland. In the unlikely event that the situation normalizes and it becomes feasible to open a business in Ukraine in a way that is possible here... but then there is the European culture, a way of life to consider ... if only Ukraine had a little of that, we would be living there now. How often we have talked about this, dreamed about it. Meanwhile, I have adapted to Spain, and at least I have a job here. (woman, 51 years old, 5 years in Spain, pharmacist).

This state of affairs illustrated that for these Ukrainian circular migrants, their position is on the border or on the margin of both societies. Although these people were termed marginal by Park (1928), this position also can be found in the literature as a position of “inbetweenness” somewhere between the home and host societies. Seweryn (2007), for example, calls this position a liminal stage, during which immigrants are open to the new experience of the host country. However, very often these migrants stay in the “relatively permanent conflict of the “divided self” that is, the old self and the new self (Park 1928: 892). Describing the identificational shift of immigrants, Seweryn considers the liminal stage to characterize those immigrants who have “left” their home society, but still have not become full-fledged members of the new host society. In this situation it is the reference group that will become a factor of great importance. This reference group will encourage immigrants to become closer to the host people, or conversely, will make them separate and lead them to marginalization. Anyway, the state of “inbetweenness” demonstrates that almost a half of research participants looked for their own place in the structure of the Basque society.

However, it is clear that the reference group for the majority of research participants will be the lower rung of the working class in the host society. Therefore, their integration into Spanish society will lead them to the underclass. Comparing their position in the home and in the host countries, Ukrainians include their status in the home country. Unwilling to accept this downward mobility, interviewees continue to bind their future with the home country, where their remittances can provide them better social position and some prestige. And here, it is not out of place to remember that marginalization and exclusion (both social and economic) are not only or primarily cultural issues, but are products of the law, while structural and economic imperatives secure it (Calavita 1998: 532). Therefore, it is possible to observe the marginalization of respondents caused not only by their position on the margin of both Spanish and Ukrainian societies, but also by their downward mobility in the host society.

I think that no one will say “I regret that I came”. I am very happy to be here ... misery ate away at me in Ukraine ... however, washing those toilets – five to seven a day – did upset me. (woman, 56 years old, foreman at a Ukrainian plant, 9 years in Spain)

Anyway, oscillation leads to damping and stopping. Although repeat migrants come to the host country in order to get additional earnings, there is no evidence or guarantee that these migrants finally return to the home country (Constant Nottmeyer and Zimmermann 2012: 23; Kaczmarczyk 2002:8–9). So, the main question that appears in this situation is: what will be the end of this oscillation – the home or the host country? One aspect that should be given attention in this situation concerns the plans of circular migrants towards family reunification. For instance, more than a half of respondents said they lived in Spain with a spouse or family members, while other research participants had left their family members in Ukraine. Skeldon (2010) believes that the provision of family reunification could deny the circular nature of migration. Moreover, he urges that the downside of this situation consists in taking into the borders of the host country a group of people without a right to settle, despite appropriate legislation on the protection of migrants. As a result, it will lead all these migrants to the underclass of the host society (Skeldon 2010: 28). Given that circular migration is considered to be an unmanaged form of temporary migration, it is complicated to control both the mobility of these migrants and also the processes of their unofficial family reunifications. In this situation, it can be only concluded that researchers (Skeldon 2012; Bedford, 2009; Mazzucato 2009) do not recommend using any restrictive mechanisms towards repeat migrants, as these states’ efforts will not lead to the stop

of circulation, but to the settlement of the circular migrants in the host country, whereas the possibility of circulation would continue or prolong the process of oscillation.

CONCLUSION

The case of Ukrainians in the Basque Country demonstrates that circular migrants also can be touched by the process of integration. For instance, Mazzucato (2009) believes that integration and circularity are not mutually exclusive concepts. Therefore, it must be recognized that if integration costs are not paid by the host country, they will be paid by other participants of this process, for instance, by immigrants themselves, who pay the main part of these costs. Still, it should be remembered that the host people with their positive or negative attitudes also have their own input into this process. Therefore, although circular migrants are not expected to become members of the host society, some research results, as, for example, Ukrainians in Spain or Ghanaians in the Netherlands (Mazzucato, 2009) show that a proportion of repeat migrants look for their place in the host society.

However, it must be recognized that this road of integration leads circular migrants to the marginalized groups of the host society. Taking into account their employment situation, repeat migrants join the lowest level of the social structure of the host society. Being conscious of this, Ukrainians show that they would not like to join such a social stratum. As a result, this situation causes closer contact of migrants with their native society, as they expect to reach a better economic and social position. Moreover, they expect that these earnings will compensate for discrimination, exploitation and other difficulties by improved status and prosperity in the home society. Therefore, circular migrants prefer the position of a “marginalized” member of the host society or an area of “inbetweenness”, as it seems to make their lives more comfortable, and does not demand any painful decisions. In other words, such a personal positioning in society assists migrants in coping with their cognitive dissonance.

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APPENDIX 1.

Plan of the Interview

- Motives for migration decision
- The reasons to choose Spain for migration project
- Time (years) of migration experience in Spain
- Main problems on arrival to Spain
- Presence of social network and social capital on arrival to the host country
- Presence of family members in Spain

Structural dimension

- legal status: citizenship, residence permit
- education, qualification, courses
- current job, job in Ukraine, job search: network of friends, relatives, compatriots, equivalence of education to the current job, discrimination in the workplace, exploitation (as health and safety problems, violation of overtime, wage and hour regulations, requirements for scheduling of breaks and others), validation of education and work experience in Spain, participation in trade union
- sources of life in Spain
- accommodation: neighbourhood, contacts with neighbours: Ukrainians vs Spaniards?; satisfaction of housing
- access to public services: schools for children, hospitals, etc., satisfaction with these services

Cognitive-cultural dimension

- Spanish language: understanding, speaking, writing; influence of language fluency on earnings
- Participation in associations, organizations (Ukrainian, Spanish)
- Interest in politics, newspapers, TV, TV programs, experience from contacts with Spanish administration/authorities,
- family, gender (would you accept a Spaniard/Basque into your own family? (as a family member: 1- strong no, 2- rather no, 3 - rather yes, 4- strong yes)
- religious beliefs (church, denomination), frequency of visiting
- lifestyle: similar to Spanish or Ukrainian?

Social dimension: participation, resocialisation

- Friends: Spaniards, Ukrainians, others,
- voluntary associations, local community, NGO, clubs, etc.: role in these
- “Spanish/Basque behaviour”, The “way things are done”, *attitude* of Spaniards/Basques towards yourself

- Contact with Ukrainians, contact with natives, cultural distance
- Internet: language of use, contacts (Ukrainians, post-Soviet, Spanish, etc), Ukrainian or Spanish mass media, information looked for

Identificational dimension

- Ethnic/National identification: a part of Spanish or Ukrainian society?
- A country for future. Plans for future.
- Attitude toward Spaniards. Attitude of Spaniards toward respondent General attitude to Ukrainians
- Relations with people of other nations/cultures
- Frequency of home country visits
- Recommendation of Spain to relatives, friends, etc.
- Plans for the future. Return plan. Plans relating to Ukraine
- Time expected to be/live in Spain (years...)

Basic parameters

- Male/Female
- Age
- Marital Status: single, married, divorced, widower/widow